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CONCERNING  
AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS





*\*\* Only Two Hundred and Fifty copies  
are printed, of which this is  
No. 6*



Presented to  
Dr. von Laubmann  
Director of the Bavarian Royal Library at Munich  
With the best thanks of the Author

*Henry Harris*

*Paris. April 24<sup>th</sup> 1895*

*G. p. 65*









ARMS OF BALTHAZAR SPRENGER  
THE REAL AUTHOR OF THE ALLEGED VESPUCCIAN  
VOYAGE FROM LISBON TO INDIA 1505-6.

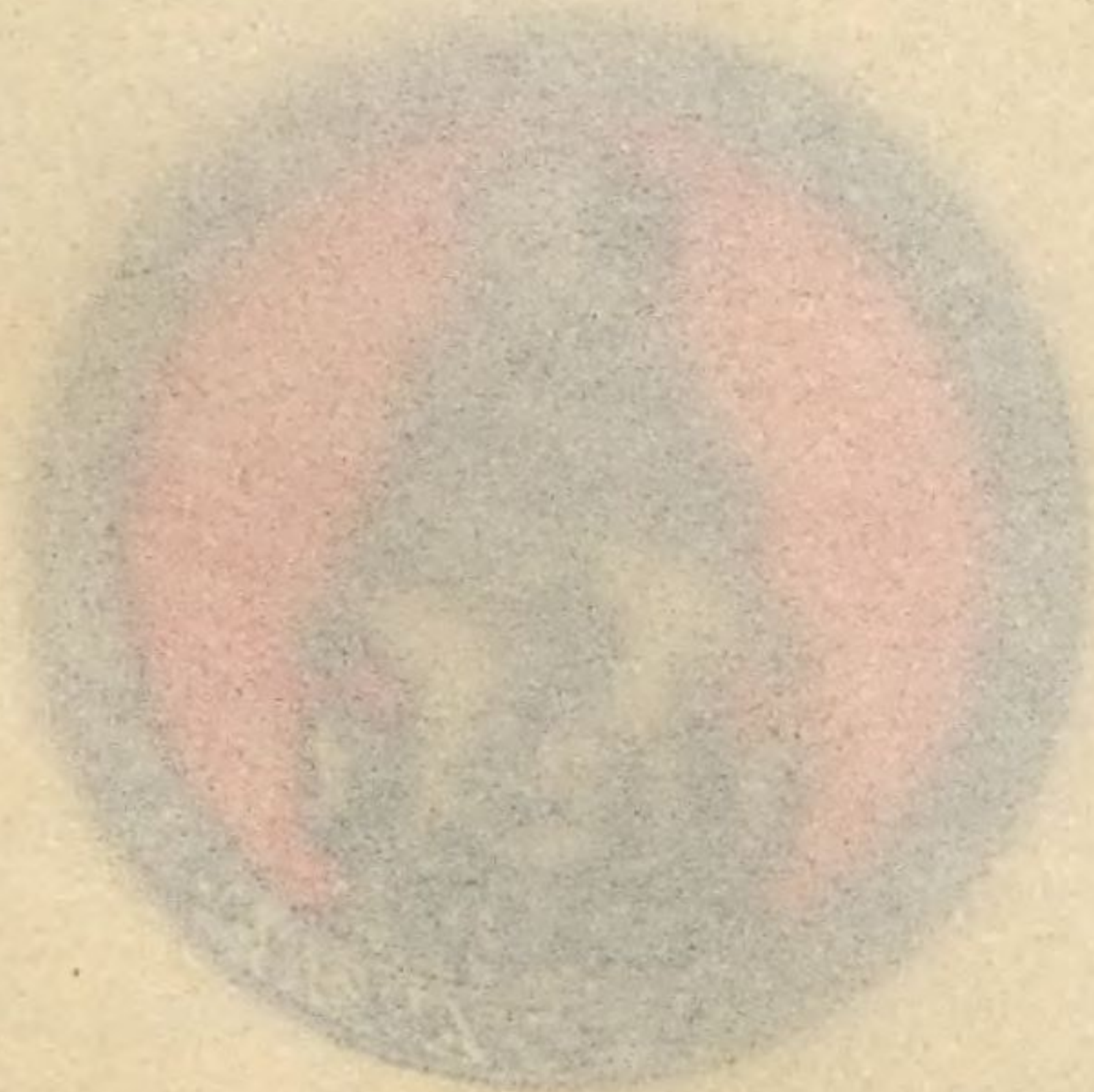


# VESPUTICUS VESPUCCHIUS



*Critical and Documentary  
Edition of Two recent English  
Works concerning that Navigator*

BY HENRY HARRISSE



LONDON

W. & A. TRAFALGAR SQUARE

1895





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VOYAGE FROM LISBON TO INDIA 1305-6.



# AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS



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## PUBLISHER'S APOLOGY.



ALL books and manuscripts associating the name of AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS, rightly or wrongly, with voyages or expeditions, are of importance to collectors of *Americana*.

Having recently published the *Voyage from Lisbon to India, 1505-6, being an Account and Journal by Albericus Vespuccius, translated from the contemporary Flemish and edited with Prologue and Notes by C. H. Coote, Department of Printed Books (Geographical Section), British Museum*, I now have pleasure in issuing a controversial twin volume, *Americus Vespuccius: A Critical and Documentary Review of two recent English Books concerning that Navigator, by Henry Harrisse*.

As a Publisher, I have only to present both sides of the question, and leave the reader to judge for himself. Meanwhile, it will be readily granted that these two publications possess the merit of reviving, in one form or another, the



fullest and most authentic account, long since forgotten, of one of the greatest achievements in the history of maritime enterprise. This, of itself, would suffice to enlist the goodwill of the historical student.

In addition to a review of Mr. Markham's and of Mr. Coote's books on Vespuccius, the reader will find a bibliographical analysis of thirteen ancient documents relative to the part which the merchant-princes of Augsburg and Nuremberg took in the famous expeditions of the Portuguese to India, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Mr. Harrisse has also added interesting extracts from the original texts, with a translation into English, and compared them with the Flemish version edited by Mr. Coote.

I may finally call attention to the chapter concerning the extremely rare plates designed by Hans Burgkmair in 1508, and their imitations, which refer to the marvellous exploits of Francisco d'Almeida in Africa and the East Indies.

B. F. S.







## INTRODUCTION.



THE four voyages of Americus Vespuccius across the Ocean (1497-1504), remain the enigma of the early history of America. The probability is that it will never be solved. Yet every new book on the subject engrosses at once the attention of the student who takes an interest in the first Transatlantic navigations, and that even in a higher degree than the writings devoted to Christopher Columbus. Perhaps it is owing to the fact that we are getting every day nearer the truth regarding the life and deeds of the great Genoese, whilst, on the contrary, the calumniated Florentine recedes more and more from the field of historical demonstration.

Two works which have been published recently in England on the question, afford another instance of this seeming paradox. One of these sets forth deductions from imaginary premises; the other is a sheer imposture, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, and now unconsciously revived.





## INTRODUCTION.







## *A Review of Two recent English Books.*

### I.



THE first of these two books is a volume lately issued by the Hakluyt Society, under the following title :

*The letters of Amerigo Vespucci, and other documents illustrative of his career. Translated, with Notes and an Introduction, by Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S., President of the Hakluyt Society.*

It is a useful collection of the original documents, known at present, concerning the vexed question of Vespuccius' voyages to the New World. A noticeable omission, however, is the letter written by him, December 30th, 1492, to



Corradolo Stanga, discovered in the State Archives at Mantua, as it gives the earliest and first positive date of his establishment in Spain. The letter is signed: "Ser. Amerigho Vespucci merchante fiorentino in Sybilia."

Mr. Markham's Introduction is an elaborate, and at times forcible statement of all that can be alleged against the authenticity of Vespuccius' four Oceanic expeditions. The truth is, that the accounts of those voyages, such as they have reached us, whether in Italian or Latin, are all liable to very grave objections, which we certainly do not pretend to be in a position to remove. It does not follow, however, that Mr. Markham, any more than other critical historians, has succeeded in proving that Vespuccius' narratives are impossible, or imaginary. The doubters cannot even boast of having thus far elicited the least particle of documentary evidence in support of their opinion, or added anything authentic to our knowledge on the subject.

Critics should keep in mind that we possess only abstracts,—not intended to convey precise information, but drawn up for familiar epistolary reading, and perhaps not by Vespuccius himself,—of a large work of his, to which these abstracts frequently refer. One such reference is in these words:

"I (Vespuccius) have written the greater part of the things that a book to be called *The Four Voyages*, in which I have related I saw, very clearly and to the best of my ability. I have not



yet published it, because my own affairs are in such a bad state that I have no taste for what I have written, yet I am inclined to pub-

lish it. In this work will be seen every event in detail, so I do not enlarge upon them here." (Markham's translation, xxi.)

Another reference is as follows :

"In each of my voyages I have noted down the most remarkable things, and all is reduced to a volume, in the geographical style, entitled *The Four Voyages*, in

which all things are described in detail ; but I have not yet sent out a copy, because it is necessary for me to revise it." (*Ibidem.*)

It is gratuitous on the part of Mr. Markham to assume that Vespuccius only contemplated writing the book, and that it never was actually written, simply because in the Medici letter he speaks of "completing his work in consultation with learned persons and aided by friends, when he should return home." The *Lettera*, which contains the positive declarations quoted by us, was penned and published not less than seventeen months *after* the Medici letter. Mr. Markham's argument therefore is unsound.

Again, Mr. Markham lays much stress upon the objections to be found in the *Historia* of Las Casas, written at least a quarter of a century after the Vespuccian voyages. He goes even so far as to say : "The authority of Las Casas is alone conclusive." We do not see it in that light. The good bishop does not speak of his own knowledge, nor did he have access to particular sources of information on that point. He had consulted exclusively the documents which we possess ourselves, viz. : Jean Basin's Latin version, printed at St. Dié in 1507, of a French duplicate of



Vespucius' abridged accounts,<sup>1</sup> and the Rogatory Commissions of 1513-15,<sup>2</sup> published by Navarrete seventy years ago.<sup>3</sup> Las Casas, consequently, gives only his own interpretation of data which we can appreciate as well as he did; and this interpretation is not entitled, so far as evidence is concerned, to greater credit than the private opinion of any of us.

Mr. Markham would fare much better if the alibi which he alleges really existed. In fact, his theory requires him to show that at the time when Vespucius claims to have been accomplishing the voyage of 1497-99, he was pursuing in Spain what Mr. Markham elegantly calls the occupation of "beef contractor."<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately for this statement, indeed, we do not "learn that entries prove that Vespucci continued his business of provision merchant at least until May, 1498."<sup>5</sup> Navarrete, quoted by Mr. Markham to substantiate that assertion, avers nothing of the kind, either "on the authority of Muñoz," or on his own. He only states<sup>6</sup> that Vespucius "continued to attend to the equipping of the fleet until it sailed from San Lucar." Then, regarding entries dated in his text respectively December, 1495, and January, 1496, Navarrete refers to extracts made by Muñoz

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas, *Historia de las Españoles*; Madrid, 1825, 4to, vol. iii., pp. 538-591.  
*Indias*; Madrid, 1875, 8vo, vol. ii., p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. ii., p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Navarrete, *Coleccion de los viages que hicieron por mar los*

<sup>4</sup> Markham, p. vi.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. v, vi.

<sup>6</sup> Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 317.



from Book Second of *Gastos de las armadas de las Indias* of the Casa de Contratacion. That is all. Humboldt<sup>1</sup> is likewise entirely mistaken in this respect, and for the same reasons. As a proof, we beg to reproduce the original text referred to by those eminent writers:

“Entre varias partidas de maravedis que en cuenta del flete de estas naves se abonaron á Berardi por el tesorero Pinelo, de órden de D. Juan Fonseca, hay dos que recibió *Amérigo Vespuche* à nombre del mismo Berardi, y habiendo este fallecido en Diciembre de 1495: ‘*Vespuche se encargó de tener la cuenta con los . . . . Maestres . . . . del flete y sueldo que hobiesen de haber, segun el asiento que el dicho Jua-*

*noto fizo con ellos y del mantenimiento, etc.*’ Para lo cual recibió . . . . *Amérigo de Pinelo* 10<sup>o</sup> mrs. en 12 de Enero de 1496. Siguió Vespucio disponiendo todas las cosas hasta despachar la armada en Sanlúcar.” (Then, in note 2) “Hállanse estas noticias en el lib. 2<sup>o</sup>. de los gastos de las armadas de las Indias que existe en la Contratacion de Sevilla, de donde lo extractó Muñoz.” (Navarrete, *loc. cit.*)

Mr. Markham, consequently, before exclaiming that “the evidence of so high an authority as Muñoz cannot so lightly be set aside,”<sup>2</sup> should have commenced by ascertaining whether there was actually such evidence on the part of Muñoz. Besides, we frankly confess to caring very little for bare statements, made in our days, it does not matter by whom, regarding historical facts alleged to have occurred four centuries ago.

It is more to our purpose to state that no entry referring, directly or indirectly, to those dealings of Vespuccius, and of a date posterior to January 12th, 1496, has ever been found in the archives

<sup>1</sup> Humboldt, *Examen Critique de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent et des progrès de l’astro-*

*nomie nautique*; Paris, 1836-39, 8vo, vol. iv., p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Markham, *op. cit.*, p. v, note.



of the Casa, and still less among the 127 volumes containing all the extracts and notes made by Muñoz when, in 1779, Charles III. commissioned him to write a history of America. As to the fleet mentioned, it is the one composed of twelve ships, contracted for with Berardi in April, 1495, and which were all despatched from San Lucar before the end of that very year, 1495 (not 1498). What Vespuccius did in connection with the expedition was simply to supervise its fitting out, from April until November, 1495, and to pay on account of the Berardi estate certain expenses relating to the same, which were reimbursed to him by the State Treasurer, January 12th, 1496. After the latter date, Vespuccius' name disappears entirely from the Spanish or other documents, and does not recur before February 5th, 1505. There is not a shadow of proof, consequently, that Vespuccius was at Seville, or even in Spain, from 1496 until after 1498, and there is nothing whatever to show that he cannot have been at sea from May, 1497, to October, 1499, as is stated in the accounts of his first voyage of discovery.

Other assertions, equally erroneous, might be pointed out in Mr. Markham's book; but we must now proceed to speak of the second work under examination.





## II.



THE second work is a late publication made in perfect good faith by all the parties concerned, and entitled as follows :

*The Voyage from Lisbon to India, 1505-6. Being an Account and Journal by Albericus Vespuccius. Translated from the contemporary Flemish, and Edited with a Prologue and Notes by C. H. Coote, Department of Printed Books (Geographical Section), British Museum.*<sup>1</sup>

This volume is rather curious, particularly on account of the singular process of reasoning which led its present editor to prepare a new edition for the press. It also affords a fair insight into the kind of learning which underlies the judgments of a certain class of critics, and their method of investigating historical problems.

<sup>1</sup> London, B. F. Stevens, 4, Trafalgar Square, 1894; small 4to, xxvii and 56 pages, 24 in fac-simile, with nine plates. Only 250 copies printed, six of which are on parchment.



In the *Athenæum* for November 5th, 1892, p. 624, it was announced that "an apparently unknown letter of Vespucci, in Dutch, had quite recently turned up in Holland." It recorded, we were told, a voyage made by him from Lisbon to Calicut, from March, 1500, to November, 1501. The news was startling, as, if true, it demolished at once the authenticity of the second voyage of Vespuccius (May, 1499—September, 1500), and of the third (May, 1501—September, 1502).

To commence with. That letter is so far from having turned up "quite recently" in Holland or elsewhere, that it was sold under the hammer (for five florins) at a celebrated book-sale in Amsterdam forty-one years ago,<sup>1</sup> and has scarcely been lost sight of since. Nor is it "apparently unknown." Every competent bibliographer knew of its existence, as it is exactly described, not only in the noted catalogue of that sale, but also by the well-known Ternaux<sup>2</sup> and Tiele.<sup>3</sup> It was, however, considered already to be "zeer Zeldzaam—very rare" before it was acquired by the British Museum, December 4th, 1855. The superla-

<sup>1</sup> "Die Reyse van Lissebone om te varẽ na die Eylandt Naguaria in Groot Indien ghelegghen. Thantw. 1508, met pl. h. b. [hout besneden]. *Zeër Zeldzaam*." See the *Catalogus der Bibliothek van J. Schouten*; Amsterdam, C. Weddepohl, 1853, 8vo, No. 263. (Sale in November, 1852.)

<sup>2</sup> Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque Asiatique et Africaine*; Paris, 1841, 8vo, No. 2810, p. 281 (*Supplément*).

<sup>3</sup> Tiele, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van Land—En Volkenkunde*; Amsterdam, 1884, 8vo, p. 203.



tive merit of its new editor consists in his being the first (and only) savant who ever imagined that it was written by Vespuccius. We will soon show what this claim amounts to. As regards "our lynx-eyed bibliographers of the literature relating to Vespucci" having omitted to mention the pamphlet, the reader will probably be satisfied with the reason that it does not contain a single word which refers in reality to Vespuccius,—the asseverations of its recent commentator, Mr. Coote, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Brief as were the details which he gave in 1892, they sufficed to afford a correct estimate of the book; and clear-headed critics must have experienced a kindly feeling of relief, when they saw the writer of the announcement express a sort of mental reserve, timid as it was, about the authenticity of the Vespuccian attribution, viz., "*If this letter should turn out to be genuine, Vespucci could not have remained in Portugal for four years.*"

Those who take an interest in such matters were patiently awaiting further developments in that line, when on page 86 of the *Athenæum* for January 20th, 1894, blazed forth a new statement from the same savant, to the effect that after erudite researches, the problem had been solved! Great was then the general surprise to find that arguments, which in the usual course of healthy cogitations should have encouraged him to persist in and profit by his



first doubt, had produced quite a contrary effect. This time, he "ventured to submit that we were confronted with entirely new data respecting Vespuccius, which will serve to fill a hiatus in his career simply as a ship purveyor," etc., etc. That is, Americus Vespuccius was proclaimed to be, once for all, the real, unsophisticated and unalloyed author of *The Voyage from Lisbon to India*. The grounds upon which this unexpected conclusion was reached deserve to be stated.

When Mr. Coote became possessed of Mrs. Barwick's excellent translation of the Flemish text, he found, of course, no difficulty in discovering that the year 1500-1501 was an error, and in identifying the enterprise with that of Francisco d'Almeida, 1505-1506. Of all the voyages undertaken by the Portuguese after Vasco da Gama's, this is perhaps the most famous; and the names of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Cochin, together with the circumstances related concerning those places, were sufficient to bring about the necessary identification. So far so good. But what betrays on the part of the English editor of this reprint either a very inadequate knowledge of the subject, or the most singular lack of critical acumen, is his having failed to perceive, even at a glance, that Vespuccius never did join, and never could have joined the expedition of Almeida in 1505, or at any time. This is quite plain to anyone at all familiar with the



history of Portuguese and Spanish maritime enterprises.

The *Reyse van Lissebone* relates only what might be termed the first part of Almeida's voyage, that is, until he first sent home news of his achievements. This part is embraced between four dates, viz. :

1505, *March 25th*. The Portuguese fleet sets out from Belem (CORREA, *Lendas*; ii., 534), or from the Rastello (SPRENGER, *Merfart*, leaf 4th).

1505, *July 27th*. Almeida crowns the new King of Quiloa (SPRENGER, *op. cit.*, leaf 6th).

1506, *January 2nd*. Almeida sends, from Cananor, the first home-bound squadron (MAYR,

*Viagem*), which arrives at Lisbon, May 22nd, 1506 (SANUTO, *Diarij*, vi. 363).

1506, *February 5th*. The second home-bound squadron sails from the island of Anjediva, and arrives at Lisbon, November 15th following, with the real author of the *Reyse van Lissebone* on board the *St. Leonard* (SPRENGER, *op. cit.*, leaf 12th).

It follows, according to the erudite commentary of the *Reyse's* new editor, that Vespuccius was at sea, or in India, sailing under the Portuguese flag, from March 25th, 1505, until at least November 15th, 1506. We regret to say that official and authentic documents, the originals of which exist still in the archives at Simancas, prove exactly the reverse :

1505, *February 5th*. Vespuccius leaves Seville to offer his services to the Spanish government, bearing a letter of introduction from Christopher Columbus (NAVARRETE, i. 351).

1505, *February 21st*. Columbus mentions, in a letter to his son Diego, Vespuccius' presence at the court (NAVARRETE, i. 352).

1505, *April 11th*. King Ferdinand requests Queen Juana, at Toro, to grant 12,000 mrs. to Vespuccius, upon the latter giving his receipt for the same. He is said in the document to be "a resident of Seville" (NAVARRETE, iii. 292, doc. iii.).

1505, *April 24th*. Queen Juana makes Vespuccius, by letters



patent, a denizen of Castille, especially to enable him to hold office (NAVARRETE, iii. 293, doc. iv.).

1505, *May 24th*. One Pedro de Miranda has his expenses paid for having gone to Palos by order of Her Majesty the Queen to consult with Vicente Yañez Pinzon

and Vespuccius concerning a fleet which they have been ordered to fit out (*ibidem*, 302, doc. x.).

1505, *June 5th*. Pedro de Miranda is sent again to Vicente Yañez Pinzon, and Americus Vespuccius yet in Palos, on the same errand (*ibidem*).

Furthermore, the whole run of the documents shows Vespuccius to have been constantly employed at Seville, for the Crown of Castille, until August 18th, 1508, when he was appointed Pilot-Major, and from that date to the time of his death, February 22nd, 1512. In other words, Vespuccius never left Spain after February, 1505.<sup>1</sup> Unless we assume that the Florentine navigator was endowed with ubiquity, it will be difficult to make people believe that in the year 1505 he was in Spain and in the East Indies exactly at the same time.

Here is another remarkable specimen of Mr. Coote's style of historical science and precision.

What convinced our English editor that Vespuccius was an eye-witness of the events related in the *Reyse*, and was indeed the author of that narrative? Simply the following line: "My friend Lorenzo: I Albericus did write to you aforetime about my voyages to the new lands in general." From this brief exordium he most judiciously infers that by "Albericus" is meant Americus Vespuccius, that being the form in

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete, vol. iii., pp. 294-296; our *Discovery of North America*, in the *Biographical Notes*, pp. 742-744.



which the latter's name is given in another pamphlet published by the same printer (Jan van Doesborch, at Antwerp) the year before. After the same fashion, "Lorenzo" is interpreted to mean Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de Medici; and, on this point, we agree perfectly so far as the wording of the text is concerned. But from Mr. Coote's bold assertion that these names were penned, or even furnished by Vespuccius, we respectfully beg to differ. For Vespuccius is said by him to have been engaged writing this precious letter, after his return to Europe, at the earliest on the 15th of November, 1506, at which time "My friend Lorenzo" had been dead and buried more than three years! Lorenzo, the son of Pier Francesco de Medici, and of Laudomia d'Jacopo Acciajuoli, who had been Vespuccius' employer, as well as real correspondent, died at Florence, Saturday, May 20th, 1503.<sup>1</sup>

Now that all the facts have been duly set forth, it may not be amiss to conclude this chapter with citing one more example of the unique logic and admirable assurance of Mr. Coote. "We venture to affirm," says he (p. xxvii), "that henceforth, no recognized authority on Vespucci's writings will have the courage to eliminate from the Vespuccian Canon the long lost specimen of the Antwerp press of 1508"!

<sup>1</sup> Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*; Milano, Paolo Emilio Giusti, 1819-1861, folio; *Medici di Firenze*, tavola xii.



which the letter's name is given to another  
manuscript published by the same printer (see  
an Odeon, at Antwerp) the word "Odeon"  
After the same fashion, "Odeon" is inter-  
posed to mean "Odeon" of the French de-  
partment; and, on this point, we agree perfectly  
so far as the wording of the text is concerned.  
But from Mr. Coeur's bold assertion that these  
names were penned, or even furnished by  
Vespucius, we respectfully beg to differ. For  
Vespucius is said by him to have been engaged  
writing this precious letter, after his return to  
Europe, at the earliest on the 15th of November  
1500, at which time, his friend Columbus had  
been dead and buried more than three years.  
I know, the son of the Frenchman de Melun,  
and of a daughter of Christopher Columbus, who had  
been Vespucius' companion, as well as his son,  
respondent, died at Florence, Saturday, May  
20th, 1503.

Now that all the facts have been fully set forth,  
it may not be amiss to conclude this chapter with  
giving one more example of the undue haste  
and admirable assurance of Mr. Coeur. "The  
venture to affirm," says he (p. xviii), "that  
henceforth, no testimony shall be admitted on the  
part of witnesses will have the courage to claim  
that from the Vespucian Canon the long lost  
specimen of the Antwerp press of 1500!"

Thence the letter is to find its way to the  
Antwerp printer's press.





### III.



FTER having demonstrated that the phrase "Mijn vrient Laurenti Ick Albericus," in the *Reyse van Lissebone* cannot have been written by Americus Vesputius; after having proved likewise that he did not accompany Almeida, at any time, or anywhere, and cannot be, therefore, the author of that narrative, we have now to show who actually wrote it, "from point to point." This we propose to do in the form of a bibliographical nomenclature of the contemporary authorities to be consulted regarding that famous voyage of the Portuguese to the East Indies.

As we have already remarked, the importance of the *Voyage to India*, in its original and authentic form, resides in the fact that it refers to one of the most celebrated deeds of the Portuguese in the Indian seas, after the second voyage of Vasco da Gama. It was in the course of the expedition of Francisco d'Almeida that the



rich cities of Quiloa, Mombasa, and Onor, were stormed and conquered. Then, likewise, sultans lost their thrones, and were replaced by others who received at the hand of the great Portuguese commander the golden crowns which he had brought with him from Lisbon. Immense treasures became the prey of the conquerors; their victories carried dismay from Mozambique to Ceylon and almost established the supremacy of Portugal in the Indian regions.

But what interested us particularly, was the part which the ships sent by the merchant-princes of Augsburg and Nuremberg took in those memorable events, and the important results which inured to German commerce. Our documentary references, therefore, have been made to bear, in preference, on that aspect of Almeida's expedition. The reader will soon perceive the propriety of such a course, in relation to the problems of history and bibliography raised by the recent reprint of Vespuccius' pseudo *Voyage from Lisbon to India in 1505-6*.

A.

1503, JANUARY 13TH.

*König Emanuel von Portugal ertheilet den Kaufleuten aus Augspurg, und den anderen Städten Teutschlands, die sich in der Stadt Lissabon niederlassen viele und vichtige Privilegia. A. 1503. d. 13 Jan.*



"King Emanuel of Portugal grants to the merchants of Augsburg and other cities of Germany who establish their residence in the City of Lisbon, many and important privileges. In the year 1503, January 13th."

In *Privilegia und Handlungsfreiheiten, welche die Könige von Portugal ehemals den deutschen Kaufleuten zu Lissabon ertheilet haben*. Edited by Joh. Phil. CASSEL. Bremen, 1771, 4to, pp. 5-10.

There was, it seems, at Augsburg, from the first three years of the sixteenth century, a German company, "Der Teutschen Societet," created for purposes of trade in the recently acquired possessions of Portugal on the east coast of Africa and in India. Its directors were, in 1503, Anton Welser and Conrad "Filen" (Voehlin). They sent to Lisbon one Simon "Seyes" (Seitz), to negotiate for special privileges, and, January 13th, 1503, he obtained from João II., what might be called letters patent.<sup>1</sup>

These privileges were not deemed sufficient by the Company, which, the next year, entered into negotiations for an increase of their advantages. On August 1st, 1504,<sup>2</sup> the King of Portugal made an agreement with that association of German merchants. This agreement seems to have been limited to a single enterprise, which was the expedition intended for India, under the command of Tristão da Cunha.

<sup>1</sup> Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*. Translated by Furcy Raynaud, Leipzig, 1886, 8vo, vol. ii., p. 530, where there is an analysis of that important document.

<sup>2</sup> "Primo Aug<sup>o</sup>. [1504] tat wir den vertrag mit portugal king der armazion 3 schiff, per Indiam."—Rem's *Diary*, published by Greiff, in his *Brief und Berichte*, p. 8, see *infra*, B.



Le The Germans were to furnish three merchant ships. A sum of 66,000 ducats was subscribed, 36,600<sup>1</sup> in Augsburg and Nuremberg. The Welsers and Voehlin together furnished 20,000, Gossembrot, 3,000, the Fuggers, 4,000, Hochstetter, 4,000,<sup>2</sup> Hirshvogel, Imhof, and others, the rest of the 36,600. The remaining 29,400 ducats were subscribed by a party of Genoese and Florentine capitalists.<sup>3</sup>

These sums, finally, were applied to the expedition which Francisco d'Almeida led, in 1505, to the African and Indian regions.

## B.

1505, JANUARY 3RD.

*Letter from Conrad Peutinger addressed to Blasius Hölzl, the Secretary of the Emperor Maximilian.*

Le  
15 In B. GREIFF, *Brief und Berichte über die frühesten Reisen nach Amerika und Ostindien aus den Jahren 1497 bis 1506, aus Dr. Conrad Peutinger/nachlass*, Augsburg, 1861, 8vo, page 171.

Manoel! Peutinger requests Hölzl to obtain for his brother-in-law (Christian Welser) from João II., through the Emperor, letters patent ("Brief") for navigating and trading in the Portuguese

<sup>1</sup> "Sexagies sexies mille aureis, quos ducatus vocant." — A. F. Gassarius, *Augstburgenses Annales*, in *Menckenii Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, Lipsiæ, 1728, folio, col. 1736.

<sup>2</sup> We borrow those figures also from Gassarius, *op. cit.*, col. 1743.

<sup>3</sup> Statement of the Venetian da Cha' Masser, *infra*, G.



possessions. He alleges as a reason: "vns Augspurgern ains grosz Lob ist, als für die Ersten Deutschen, die India suechen:—As it is a great glory for our Augsburg people to be the first, among the Germans, who go in search of the Indies."

We call attention to this curious letter simply as showing the eagerness of the Germans, so far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century, to avail themselves of the success of the Portuguese in the East Indies. As to the date of Peutinger's epistle, if it be exact, we apprehend that it does not apply to Almeida's expedition, as it contains the following sentence: "Meines schwehers Brief wollen auch vertigen, dan di Schiff zu Portengall schier gen India faren werden:—I beg of you to have the letters patent for my brother-in-law forwarded, as his ships, at present in Portugal, are to sail for India." Now, as the reader will soon see, the German ships for Almeida's expedition sailed out of Antwerp only on January 8th, 1505. As to the text which we published in 1872,<sup>1</sup> it was taken from a manuscript copy dated January 13th, 1504.

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Addit.*, pp. 116-117.



C.

1505, JULY 12TH.

*Pontificium diploma de instauratis Emmanuelis  
rogatu sacris indulgentiarum præmiis. Dat.  
Romæ apud S. Petrum MDV. iv. id. Julii.*

“Pontifical diploma, renewed at the request of Emanuel, concerning the indulgences for the Holy Land. Dated Rome, at St. Peter, the fourth day of the ides of July [July 12th], 1505.”

In BARONIUS, *Annales ecclesiastici* (Mansi's edition, 1754), vol. xxx., pages 453-454.

When, upon the accession of Julius II. to the Papal chair, Emanuel sent to Rome the customary Embassy of Obedience,<sup>1</sup> he directed his envoys, Diego de Sousa, Diego Pacheco, and a knight called Haldegna,<sup>2</sup> to make a request of the new Pope. They were to beg of His Holiness that as the war in Africa and the expedition of Francisco d'Almeida involved a

<sup>1</sup> *Obedientia Potentissimi Emanuelis Lusitaniæ || Regis &c. per clarissimum Iuris. V. consultum || Dieghum Pacettū Oratorem ad Iulii. II. Pont. || Max. Anno Dñi. M.D.V. Pridie No. Iunii. || Sm. 4to, 4 ll., s. a. a. l., sed 1505, Romæ, Silber (Panzer, vol. viii., p. 247). Regarding that celebrated typographer, it is interesting to mention one more discovery of the learned English editor of the *Reyse*. It is to the effect that*

Silber is another name for Planck: “Silber *alias* Planck,” do we read in his Illustrative Notes, p. 56. In other words, according to Mr. Coote, it seems that Planck, of Passau, and Silber, of Wurtzburg, are one and the same printer,—which we did not suspect before.

<sup>2</sup> MS. of Paris de Grassis, 164, fo. 189, quoted by L. Thuasne, *Johannis Burchardi Diarium*, Paris, 1885, 8vo, vol. iii., p. 392, for the names of the ambassadors.



vast expense, he would grant remission of the punishment due their sins to all such persons "contributing voluntarily maintenance thereof." The Portuguese ambassadors made their appearance at the Vatican in June, 1505, and a month afterwards Julius II. issued the above papal Bull.

D.

1506, JUNE 26TH.

*Memoriale de le novelle, che son venute per le quatro nave, che venono de India, e intrarno in Lisbona, veneri à di 22 de mazo 1506.*

"Account of the news brought by the four ships, which came from India, and entered Lisbon, Friday, the twenty-second day of May, 1506."

In Marin SANUTO, *Diarij*, vol. vi., cols. 363/367.

"Quatro nave vene tutte molto bene carigate de specie, quanto più potevano portare:—Four ships which came very heavily laden with spice, as much as they could carry," do we read in that account.

Yet Vincenzo Quirini (*infra*, K.), in his report to the Senate, read a few months afterwards, said that the King of Portugal intended to discontinue those voyages to the East Indies, as they were very expensive and dangerous. He adds that of 104 ships sent, only 74 had ever returned.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rawdon Brown, *Calendar*, October 10th, 1506, No. 890.



E.

1506, JULY.

*Copia de nove de Portogal, contenute in una letera, data a presso Lisbona, a di 26 mazo, drizata à sier Francesco Donado, el cavalier, orator in Spagna, et zonta a Venecia, a di . . . . luio 1506.*

“Copy of the news from Portugal in a letter dated from Lisbon, the twenty-sixth day of May, addressed to Mr. Francesco Donado, knight, ambassador in Spain, and which arrived in Venice the . . . . day of July, 1506.”

In Marin SANUTO, *op. cit.*, cols. 383-384.

Mention is also made of four ships, which arrived on the 22nd of May, but the writer adds: “Ben che se intende che erano numero 5, ma la una se dice esser retornata a Monsanbichi, per esser mal conditionata:—Although it was intended that there should be five ships, the report is that one was obliged to return to Mozambique owing to its bad condition.”

F.

1506, NOVEMBER 7TH.

*Gesta proxime per Portugalen||ses in India:  
Ethiopia: ⁊ aliis orinetalibus [sic] terris.||—  
¶ Impressum Rome per Joannem Besicken  
An||no M.cccccvi. Die. vii. mensis Nouembris.||*



"Recent deeds of the Portuguese in India, Ethiopia, and other eastern countries.—Printed at Rome by Johannes Besicken, on the 7th day of the month of November of the year 1506."

Small 4to, 4 leaves, B.L.

IDEM OPUS.

*Gesta proxime per Portugalenses ī India. Ethīopia. ⁊ alijs oriētalibus terris.*—*Impressum colonie Anno dñi M.ccccc vij. Prima die mensis Februarij ꝑ me Joannem Landen . . .*

4to, 4 leaves, B.L. (BRUNET, ii., col. 1571.)

IDEM OPUS.

*Francisci de Almada Gesta proxime per Portugalenses in India, Ethiopia et aliis orientalibus terris ab Emanuele Portugalie reges ad Episcopum Portuen. cardinalem Portugal. missa.*—*Nurembergæ, ꝑ Joannem Weyssenburger, 1507*:—Francisco de Almada. Recent deeds of the Portuguese in India, Ethiopia and other eastern countries, [relation] sent by Emanuel, King of Portugal, to the Bishop of Porto, Cardinal of Portugal.—Nuremberg,[printed] by Johannes Weyssenburger, 1507.

4to, 4 leaves. (TERNAUX, No. 80.)

This descriptive letter addressed by King Emanuel of Portugal to the Portuguese Cardinal Alpedrinha (D. Jorge da Costa) is undated, but based upon the information furnished by Fernão Soarez, when he returned to Lisbon on the 22nd of May preceding.

## G.

1504-1506.

*Relazione sopra il commercio dei Portoghesi nell India.*

"Relation concerning the Commerce of the Portuguese in India."

In *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Appendice, vol. ii., 1845, pp. 13-47; but, particularly, "Viaggio Settimo," pp. 19-21.



The author of this short but valuable historical sketch of the early navigations of the Portuguese to the East Indies, one Leonardo da Cha' Masser, that is, "dalla casa dei Massari," was a secret agent of the Republic of Venice. He was sent "privatamente come semplice marchante," but in reality to watch and report upon the progress of the Portuguese in India. Da Cha' Masser, or Massari, received his instructions in Venice,<sup>1</sup> July 3rd, 1504, and arrived at Lisbon, October 5th following. His report begins as follows:

"Essendo stato doi anni continui in Portogallo, nella città di Lisbona per servizio della Subl. V. per veder et intende navegazioni nell' Indie. . . ." It follows that he resided in Lisbon continuously until the summer of 1506,<sup>2</sup> and was a witness therefore of the departure of Almeida's fleet, and of the arrival in Portugal of the first home-bound squadron. He describes nine of these voyages, viz.:

- |                                           |                                                  |
|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1497. Vasco da Gama.                      | 1503. Francisco "dal Burchercher" (Albuquerque). |
| 1500. "Pedralboro" (Pedralvareze Cabral). | 1504. "Lupo" (Lopo) Soarez.                      |
| 1501. João da Nova.                       | 1505. Francisco d'Almeida.                       |
| 1502. Vasco da Gama.                      | 1505. "Barbut, abtador da Sago" (Cyde Barbudo).  |
|                                           | 1506. Tristão d'Acunha.                          |

See also his letter of April 16th, 1506.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Commissione a Leonardo da Cha' Masser, in Cons. X. cum addit. Specier.* in *Archivio Veneto*, vol. ii. (1871), p. 203.

him apply for the "Cancellaria di Cologna al dicto povero supplicante in vita sua" (*ibid.*).

<sup>2</sup> December 15th, 1506, we see

<sup>3</sup> *Archivio Veneto*, vol. ii., p. 203.



## H.

1505-1506.

*Viagem e cousas de D. Francisco Visorey de India escrito na nao S. Raffael do Porto, capitã Fernã Suarez. (At the end.) Da viagem de Dom Francisco d'Almeyda primeyro visorey de India. E este quaderno foy trellado da nao Sã Raffael e que hia Hansz Mayr por scrivã da feytoria e capitã Fernã Suarez.*

“Voyage and affairs of Dom Francisco, Viceroy of India, written on board the ship San Rafael, of Porto [of which] Fernão Soarez was captain.—Concerning the voyage of Dom Francisco d’Almeida, first Viceroy of India. And this book was copied from [one in?] the ship *San Rafael*, in which Hans Mayr went as factory clerk, and Fernão Soarez as captain.”

From a MS. preserved in the Royal Library at Munich, and analyzed by SCHMELLER, in his valuable memoir: *Ueber Valenti Fernandez Alemã und seine Sammlung von Nachrichten über die Entdeckungen und Besitzungen der Portugiesen in Africa und Asien bis zum Jahre 1508 enthalten in einer portugiesischen Handschrift*, pp. 47-50, in vol. iv. of the *Abhandlungen der philosophische Philolog. class der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, for 1847.

This describes the return of the first home-bound squadron sent by Almeida, which “partiron de Cananor caminho de Portugal 2 di de Janeyro de 1506, Fernão Soarez por capitã mór de cinco naos bẽ carregadas.” Four of these five ships were the “Sã Jeronimo, Sã Raffael [both German], e Botafogo e a nao India,” and they arrived “a Rastello anno 1506, 22. d. Mayo.” It was this squadron which, on its way back to



Portugal, discovered, on the 11th of February, 1506, the east coast of the island of Madagascar.

The present description was written originally in German by that Hans Mayr, one of the supercargoes in the employ of the Augsburg merchants. The Portuguese translation, which is the only text that has reached us, was made by the celebrated Moravian, Valentin Fernandez, first a printer, then a notary, in Lisbon, and who returned to Germany after 1507. We are indebted to him for the first printed collection of voyages.<sup>1</sup>

I.

1506.

*Bericht einer Reise vom Jahr 1505, unter Franciscus Almeida, Vice-Re.*

"Account of a voyage of the year 1505 under Francisco Almeida, Viceroy."

In *XXVI Jahres Bericht des Historischen Kreis Vereins im R. B. von Schwaben* (GREIFF'S), Augsburg, 1861, 8vo, pp. 167-170.

The original is in the handwriting of Anton Welser.

The commercial details in that account show how profitable those expeditions to the East Indies proved to be, at least to the Augsburg and Nuremberg merchants. Their participation in Almeida's voyage yielded as much as 175 per cent. profits, notwithstanding the heavy royalty levied on the proceeds by the King of Portugal.

<sup>1</sup> *Marco Paulo*. Lisbon, 1502, *tustissima*; *Additions*, Paris, 1872, folio. *Bibliotheca Americana* Ve- p. 35, note.



J.

1506, JULY 9TH.

*Journal of Girolamo Priuli, 1499-1512.*

In Rinaldo FULIN, *Diarii e Diaristi Veneziani, Studii*; Venezia, 1881, 8vo, p. 201.

On the authority of a letter from Genoa, Priuli, July 9th, 1506, refers to the "charavelle che gionseno questo Mazo passato, che forono quatro," which are those of Suarez. He also mentions the news received that "che altre 4 charavelle o ver nave erano gionte in Portogallo a li 26 di Zugno, venute del viazo de l'India, charige di spetic," and describes the cargo.

K.

1506, OCTOBER 10TH (?).

*Relazione delle Indie Orientali di Vincenzo Quirini nel 1506.*

In *Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto. Raccolte ed illustrate da Eugenio ALBERI*. Appendice. Firenze, 1863, 8vo, pp. 6-19.

This relation does not mention the voyage of Almeida, but it completes da Cha' Masser's account (*supra*, G.), by his description of the country visited and conquered in 1505, and of its natural resources.



L.

1506.

*Relatio Balthasaris Spinger [sic] de maxima sua marina peregrinatione ex partibus Hollandiæ in Ulixbonam Portugalliæ, ac deinde per oceanum australe versus polum Antarticum [sic] in Indiam, et ejus insulas.*

“Balthasar Spinger’s account of his very extensive maritime peregrination, from the confines of Holland to Lisbon, of Portugal, and then by the Austral Ocean, towards the Antarctic pole, to the Indies and islands thereof.”

In *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*; Paris, 1724, 4to, vol. ii. (Second voyage), pp. 361-378.

*Li* The Latin text of this narrative was discovered by the Benedictines, D. Martene and D. Durand, at Liège in 1718, and published by them six years afterwards “ex manuscripto codice cl. v. domine baronis de Crassier Leodiensis,” in their celebrated *Voyage littéraire*.

Their copy, or the manuscript from which they made it, contained a number of mistakes.<sup>1</sup> This led us to inquire whether the original document could be consulted. Unfortunately we have failed to discover any other Latin text of that relation. The once noted library of Baron

<sup>1</sup> The geographical names in particular are very erroneously rendered: *Monsebit* and *Mon-simbil* for Mosambique; *Rostel* for the Rastello; *Ansedisse* for Anjediva; *Saphalle* for Sofala;

*Enneor* for Onor; *Labai de rock* for Angra de rocha, etc., etc. Besides the name of the author, spelled here “Spinger,” instead of “Springer” or “Sprenger.”



Guillaume de Crassier was sold after his death, at Liége, under the hammer, in 1754. The catalogue of the sale, well known by bibliographers under the title of *Bibliotheca Crassieriana* (Leodii, 8vo), does not mention our manuscript. Perhaps it was bound up with others, or too insignificant in size (only a few pages) to be made the object of a separate item.

Balthazar Sprenger, or Springer, the author of the narrative, was a Tyrolese, from Vils, in the employ of Anton Welser, and who joined the expedition of Francisco d'Almeida as supercargo, or factor, on board the *St. Leonard*, one of the three ships fitted out at the expense, as we have said, of the Welsers, Fuggers, Hochstetter, Imhof, and other rich merchants of Augsburg and Nuremberg. She sailed from Antwerp for Lisbon on the 15th of January, 1505, and from the latter place to the East Indies, with the fleet, on the 23rd or 25th of March following. Sprenger returned to Portugal with the second home-bound squadron, again on the *St. Leonard*, arriving at Lisbon on the 15th of November, 1506, six months after the first ships sent by Almeida.

Sprenger kept a daily journal of all the events of which he was an eye-witness in the course of that memorable voyage. Being a German by birth, and writing evidently for ready reference, we assume that this diary was written originally in his mother tongue. He composed, besides, a geographical description of the principal countries visited, viz., Guinea, Delagoa Bay, Arabia,



the leading cities from Quiloa to Cananor, Great India, and the kingdom of Cochin. Sprenger, upon his return to Germany, embodied those two accounts in a sort of memoir addressed, at their request, to personages whose names have not reached us. These were very probably the wealthy merchants of Augsburg who had employed him, particularly the Welsers.

Before December, 1508, this interesting narrative had been already circulated in Latin, but in manuscript. Perhaps this is the language in which the text newly arranged was composed by Sprenger for his distinguished correspondents. It was one of these new arrangements, in Latin, or in German (we cannot tell which), that served for the Flemish version printed by Doesborch, and already mentioned.

In the present text, the preamble is as follows :

“Ego Balthazar Spinger (*sic*) inductus precibus amicorum simul & animi mei attractus delectatione, ut alii quoque in his capiant delicias, quæ vergunt in Christianæ fidei incrementum, nequaquam silentio præterire volui maximam peregrinationem & viam maris, qua classibus oceanum sulcantes, ex Hollandiæ partibus ad civitatem regalem Ulixbonam regni Portugalliæ, ac deinde per multa regna insulas & marina pericula in Indiæ provinciam Calcoet pervenimus, ac in patriam tandem redivimus:—I, Balthazar Spinger (*sic*), having been prompted both by the requests

of friends, and my own mental satisfaction, to the effect that others may also derive pleasure from things which tend to the diffusion of the Christian religion, I was unwilling to pass over in silence the great peregrination and sea voyage which we have accomplished. This was from the coasts of Holland to the royal city of the kingdom of Lisbon, plowing the waves with our fleets. Traversing then numerous kingdoms, islands and dangers of the sea, we reached the province of Calicut in India; and afterwards returned to our native land.”



Sprenger then begins his narrative with the following interesting details :

“Anno igitur domini MDVII. (*sic*) solventes ab Ulixbona Lusitaniæ, simul cum classibus inclyti regis Emanuelis & spectabilium mercatorum nationis Teutonicæ, qui dicuntur vulgariter *Fuckerde Velserem Hoegstederem Hirsvogetem* sociorumque eorum vigesima quinta die Martii pervenimus in insulam Canariam, quæ distat centum quinquaginta miliaribus ab Ulixbona.”

“In the year of our Lord 1507 (*sic*), weighing anchor from Lisbon in Portugal, at the same time as the fleets of the illustrious King Emanuel, and of the honourable merchants of the German nation, commonly called Fugger, Welser, Hochstetter, Hyrssfogel, and their companions, on March 25th we arrived at the Canary island, which is distant from Lisbon 150 miles . . . .”

We notice in this extract two slips of the pen, viz., the first, “MDVII,” corrected further on as follows: “anni scilicet 1505:—in that year 1505;” the second, “vigesima quinta die Martii,” which, without commas intervening, may be interpreted as the date of their arrival at the Canary islands, instead of “Vicesima octava die Martii:—the twenty-eighth day of March,” which is the date correctly set forth in the next page. As the reader will soon see, the fleets left Lisbon for the Rastello on the 23rd, remained two days in that place, and then sailed out on the 25th of March.

The narrative continues, giving a detailed account of all the important events which occurred during the first part of that memorable voyage, with dates and certain particulars not to be found in other relations of Almeida's expedition, or in Doesborch's translation of Sprenger's account. We propose to examine a number of these in the



next item, where a comparison is established between this Latin version and the Flemish one already referred to. Meanwhile, as Osorius copies Castanheda, while Castanheda copies Correa,<sup>1</sup> who wrote fifteen years before him, all without scarcely ever dating the facts which they relate, we will state the dates of the leading circumstances that happened during the first year of Almeida's expedition.

The Portuguese anchored before Quiloa on July 23rd, 1505; attacked the city, with eight ships, on the 24th, and on the 27th, Almeida crowned a new king (Mafamede Arcon) in the place of the one who had fled away.

On August 13th, 1505, they came into the harbour of Mombasa, with ten ships, attacked the city on the 14th, and stormed it on the 15th.

On October 18th, 1505, they reached Onor with eighteen boats, stormed it immediately, and sailed away to Cananor the same day.

On October 30th the Portuguese arrived at Cochin, and between November 2nd and a few days afterwards, "aliquot diebus," Almeida crowned the king of that region with the golden crown which he had brought from Portugal.

The Crassier manuscript contained at least one illustration. It represented Arabian merchants exchanging woollen and silk clothes for gold. The reference to the drawing or miniature in question is in these words: "Ut in figura

<sup>1</sup> Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*. Edited by Mr. R. J. de Lima Felner. Lisboa, 1859, 4to, vol. i., part ii., pp. 520-619.



tali habentur depicti:—As they are represented in the delineation.”<sup>1</sup>

M.

1508.

*Plates designed by Hans Burgkmair.*

Although Sprenger's account circulated at an early date in manuscript, it was in the form of engravings that he may be said to have first called the attention of the public to his adventures in Africa and the East Indies. He furnished data to Hans Burgkmair, the celebrated Augsburg artist, who designed and published, in 1508, a large plate composed of four or five sheets, pasted together, and forming a whole, which measured in breadth one metre ninety centimetres, in height twenty-six centimetres.

That fine engraving represents groups of natives in various attitudes, such as they had been seen by Balthazar Sprenger in those distant regions. Beginning on the left of the reader—Group 1st: . IN . GENNEA, negroes, a child dancing, a man holding three spears, a woman with child at the breast, seated close to a tree. Group 2nd: IN . ALLAGO, a bearded man, and a woman, both seated, their feet in sandals, with large, round soles (to walk on the sand), a child, and a tree. Group 3rd: . IN . ARABIA, a man

<sup>1</sup> That scene is not in any of Burgkmair's plates now known.



richly clad, a woman partially dressed, holding a child by the hand, close to a tree. Group 4th: GROS . INDIA ., a half-naked woman with a parrot resting on her left hand, a child dancing, and, as coming out of his mouth, the word MAMANE; two women seated look at him; back of them, a large oval buckler. Group 5th: no title; a tree with a monkey gambolling among the branches; young girl holding a basket; a man caressing his wife; three other women, goats, sheep, an ox, a half-naked fat man, and a man seated, his left leg resting on a buckler. Group 6th: DER KVNIG VON GVTZIN; the King of Cochin is seated on a sort of plank, carried by four men, and surrounded by thirteen others, one bearing a large parasol, the rest, arms and musical instruments, some blowing trumpets.<sup>1</sup> On a small tablet, hanging from a tree, the date 1508, and the initials of the engraver H. B.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Welser copy (the only one we know of in its original form) all the personages have been coloured, apparently by hand, and at the time. That is also the case with the woodcuts in the book described *infra* (O.).

<sup>2</sup> Our description of the first groups is taken from a large fragment of what we believe to be the left part of the original plate of 1508, in the possession of Baron Carl von Welser, at Ramhof, who has kindly supplied us with a tracing made by himself. The other groups we have borrowed from Derschau's facsimile,

B. 26 (*Gravures en bois des anciens maitres allemands*; Gotha, 1808, folio), which we assume to represent the other half. For additional details concerning that plate we are under obligations to Mr. von Wirshingen, President of the *Historischen Vereins von Schwaben und Neuburg*, and to Dr. Adolf Buff, State archivist in Augsburg. See also the *Zeitschrift* of that society, 2d Jahrgang, 1875, p. 123; Bartsch, *Le Peintre-graveur*, Vienne, 1803-21, vol. vii., No. 77; and Passavant, *Le Peintre-graveur*, Leipzig, 1862, vol. iii., p. 267.



On the left upper corner, the arms of Balthazar Sprenger, engraved, but coloured by hand, viz.: Over a coupé gules and azure a greyhound argent rampant, issuing from a ground sinople. Underneath there is the following inscription:

Lii "Dise nach folgenden figuren  
 Lii des wandels vnnd gebrauchs der  
 Lu künigreich mit hilffē des almech-  
 H u n tigen gots, Von küniglicher würde,  
 Emanuel zū Portugal besucht,  
 gefunden von zūm tail bestriten,  
 auch mit teutscher nacion nam-  
 Lii haffiger kaufleut, der Fucker,  
 L 8 Welser, Höchstetter, Hirschfögel  
 L 9 14 der im Hof vnd andern, desich,  
 L 5 L i Balthasar Springer [*sic*] vñ Fylss  
 L 6 als ain bestetter von wegen der  
 Welser zū Augspurg mich auf  
 L e sölliche schiffung vnd söllichs  
 erfarn vnd selbs angeben hab,  
 zum trucke, wie hie geschen  
 wirtt:—H. Burgkmair zū Augs-

purg:—The following represen-  
 tations of the [mode of] life and  
 customs of the kingdoms which  
 were visited, discovered, and  
 partly conquered, by His Royal  
 Highness Emanuel of Portugal,  
 with the aid of God almighty, and  
 of noted merchants of the German  
 nation, Fucker, Welser, Höchst-  
 etter, Hirschfogel, and others,  
 [of all this] I, Balthasar Springer,  
 from Vils, sent by [or agent of]  
 the Welsers of Augsburg, have  
 had knowledge by sailing and ex-  
 perience, and gave it myself to be  
 printed, such as is seen here:—  
 H. Burgkmair, of Augsburg."<sup>1</sup>

There exist separate copies of the first four groups, but they are only sheets which had not been pasted together, and became separated in the course of time. One of these, IN ALLAGO, is mentioned by Bartsch.<sup>2</sup> The triumph of the King of Cochin is also found by itself, but on a much reduced scale. Judging from its Latin title, TRIVMPHVS REGIS GOSCT SIVE GVTSCMIN, and the date of 1509, it may be only the double-

<sup>1</sup> The plate contains several other inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Bartsch, *op. cit.*, vol. vii., p. 222, No. 75; Passavant, *op.*

*cit.*, vol. iii., p. 267; and Muther, *Die Deutsche Bücher illustration der Gothik und Frührenaissance*; Munich, 1888, p. 131, No. 859.



folded plate inserted at the end of the work, described *infra* (O.).

In 1509, it seems, George Glockendon, of Nuremberg, made a facsimile of that large engraving, and added his own name in the left lower corner, after removing the initials of Burgkmair from the tablet.<sup>1</sup> This, at all events, was republished in 1511, but with the latter date, which in the previous edition, Derschau says, was in movable type. The issue of 1511 (and, we suppose, also the alleged one of 1509) contained a long inscription in Gothic letters, which is as follows:

“Dise nachuolgende figuren.  
des wandels vnd gebra-||uchs der  
kunigreich. mit hilff des almech-  
tigengo-||tes. von koniglicher wird  
zũ-||portegal besucht. gefunden  
vnd zũm tavl bestritten vnd hat  
Balteser springer [*sic*] von tiltz  
[*sic*] durch semselbs wackuus vnd  
erfaren wider vnd vö||newen. vnnd

gantz||recht in diser form zu  
bringen ang-||eben. vnnd derhalb  
gelaub und warhafft vnderri||cht  
gethann. vnnd damit das. so vor  
in seinẽ namen||gedruckt worden  
oder hinfur anderst dan vie herin  
be-||griffẽ vñ zusehẽ ist. gedruckt  
wurde domit dy selbẽ abgelait.”<sup>2</sup>

The meaning of that entangled phraseology is about as follows:

“The following representations of the [mode of] life, and customs of the kingdoms visited, found and partly conquered with the aid of God almighty, and of His Royal Highness of Por-

tugal, and repeatedly ascertained through the personal daring of Balthasar Springer [*sic*] of Tiltz [*sic* pro Fillz = Vils] have been furnished by himself to be reproduced anew under this form, and

<sup>1</sup> De Derschau, *op. cit.*, p. 4, of the second part, which, under No. 26, gives a very remarkable facsimile of the complete plate of 1511. In the model which served

him, however, for that facsimile, one of the groups on the left was not pasted in its proper place.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription is borrowed from Derschau's facsimile, B. 26.



very exactly. In this wise he has set forth a true and reliable account, [both] in what has been printed previously under his name,

and in what shall be printed later on, such as is herein contained and can be seen; thereby testifying [to the truth thereof?]."

In that statement, the use of the third person when speaking of Sprenger, and the omission of Burgkmair's name and initials, indicate a counterfeit. It is worthy of notice, however, that in Glockendon's plate the groups *are not reversed*, although the inscriptions, lettering, and slight differences in certain details show that he has re-engraved Burgkmair's plate entirely. The artistic skill displayed on this occasion is remarkable.<sup>1</sup>

## N.

1508, DECEMBER.

*Die reyse vā Lissebone om te varē na dj eylādt||  
Naguaria in groot Indiēn ghelegghen||voor bi  
Callicuten eñ Gutschī dair||dye stapel is van*

<sup>1</sup> We have failed to find, either in Paris, London, Berlin, Augsburg, Vienna, or Nuremberg, originals of the 1508, 1509, or 1511 edition of Burgkmair's plate. The only original which came to our notice is the left half of the 1508 edition above mentioned. The Engraving Department of the Imperial Library at Vienna possesses an enlarged copy (256 × 350 mm.), but of a later period, of the portion of the group *Gross India* representing, in the background, a camel and an elephant

led by two natives, and three men on foot. (Kindly communicated by Mr. Ed. Chmelarz.) As Baron von Welser's fragment is pasted on pasteboard, while neither Bartsch nor Derschau indicate their authorities, we are unable to state whether there was any water-mark in the papers used by Burgkmair and Glockendon originally. This is to be regretted, considering that Derschau's facsimiles (which are devoid of water-marks) frequently sell as originals.



*der specerie||Daer ons wonderlijcke dī||gē wed'-  
uaren zij. eñdair||wy veel ghesiē heb||bē, als  
hier na||ghescreuē||staet.||Welcke reyse ge-  
schiede||door dē wille eñ ghebode des alder||  
doorluchtichstē Coñs vā Portegals Emanuel||  
(At the end) Gheprent Thantwerpen . . By  
my||Jan van Doesborch. Intiaer||M.D.viij.  
i December||*

"The Voyage from Lisbon to sail unto the island of Nagore which lieth in Great India, beyond Calicut and Cochin, wherein is the staple of the spices. Wondrous things befell us therein, and we beheld much, as hereinafter is described. This said voyage was undertaken by the will and command of Emanuel, the most serene King of Portugal. (Colophon) Printed at Antwerp. By me Jan van Doesborch. In December of the year 1508."

\* \* Small 4to, twelve unnumbered leaves, B.L., eight woodcuts, one of which is a duplicate. The latter figures on the title-page, and is entitled GENNEA; the second, IN. ALLAGO; the third, IN: ARABIA; the fourth, MEIOR: INDIA; the fifth, *Vā Gutschin dat conicryck*; the sixth, *Aldus wort die Coñ. i. Gutschin somtijts ghedraghē van sijne hooftlyeden*. The other plates are without inscription. At the end, the large printer's mark of Jan van Doesborch, with the motto: Γνωθι σεαυτόν—Know thyself.

Woodcuts one,<sup>1</sup> two, three, and four are rough reductions of the first four groups of Burgkmair described in the preceding item M, but abridged and reversed. The sixth woodcut (two men with bow and buckler fighting) is Doesborch's own, not to be found among any of Burgkmair's plates. The last woodcut in the book is a reprint of the one added by J. van Doesborch<sup>2</sup> to his edition of a version into Flemish of Vespuccius' third voyage, published shortly before, with the same printer's mark.<sup>3</sup> He used those titled woodcuts again (except the last), in the work: *Of the newe lands and of ye people founde*

<sup>1</sup> This woodcut, which Doesborch gives in duplicate, has been reproduced in Gilhofer and Rauschburg's Vienna catalogue, No. 38, when, in 1892, they offered a copy of the present Flemish *Reyse* for 1,200 florins. This was afterwards purchased by an Amsterdam bookseller (Mr.

Nijhoff, we believe) for 1,000 florins, and seems to be the copy now in the Carter-Brown Library, at Providence, Rhode Island.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced by Frederick Müller, *Catalogue of Books on America*; Amst., 1872, No. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Americana Vetusissima, Additions*, No. 15.



by the messengers of the kynge of portyngale named Emanuel, printed more than ten years afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

It must be said that in the opinion of Mr. Vanderhaegen it is not known when Jan van Doesborch commenced to print. On the other hand, the Rev. Edward Arber inserts<sup>1</sup> the following remark from Dr. Campbell: "John of Doesborch did not print till after 1508, because in that year, he entered the Guild of St. Lucas at Antwerp, as *verlichtere*, miniature painter." But as the present tract is dated "December, 1508," there is no reason for rejecting, *a priori*, the later date, simply in consequence of the above-mentioned entry in the Guild. Withal, our opinion is that the date of "December, 1508" is also spurious; but, thus far, it can only be a supposition.

This is the publication edited by Mr. Coote, and criticised in the preceding pages (15-21). As to the text, it is only a garbled translation, made we do not know by whom, or at whose instigation, of Balthazar Sprenger's above-mentioned original narrative (L.). The plagiarist has substituted for the preamble which we have reproduced (*supra*, on page 38), the following:

"Mijn vrient Lauerenti Ick Albericus hebbe in voor screuē tijde ghescreuē tot v van mijn d' reysen vā dē nyeuwē lādē int generael, nv scriue ic v die waerheyt daer af vā stucke te stucke."

"My friend Lorenzo:—I Albericus did write to you aforetime about my voyages to the new lands in general; now I am writing to you a true account thereof from point to point."

This introduction we have shown to have never been written by Americus Vespuccius. Nor did the Flemish editor translate entirely the text which he had before his eyes. Some portions have been abridged, such for instance as the chapters relating to Guinea, Mombasa, and Great India, but without omitting the leading facts. To show the identity of the two texts,

<sup>1</sup> Arber, *The First Three English Books on America*, pp. xxviii-ix.



we now place side by side the first paragraph and the last in both.

“Ex industria igitur regis Portugalliæ Emanuelis pro expeditione Indica et navigatione, præparatis classibus, . . . . . Cum magna igitur armonia musicorum, instrumentorum et fiducia descendentes in continenti, terra pervenimus ad monasterium *Rostel*, quod uno millario distat ab Ulixbonæ portu. Ubi mansimus duobus diebus, scilicet à xxiii. die utque ad xxv. Martii, quæ fuit illius anni scilicet 1505 . . . . .

Postquam igitur à monasterio *Rostel* discessimus, & ventorum flatibus carbasa commisimus, venit ad naves ex oceano Portugalensi piscis quidam ignotus, toto corpore niger & terribilis, longi-

“By the care of the King of Portugal Emanuel, a fleet was fitted out for the expedition and navigation to India. . . . With a large band of musicians and [their] instruments, we hopefully went down by the mainland to the monastery of Rostel, one mile from the port of Lisbon. We remained there two days, from the 23rd to the 25th of March, in that year 1505 . . . . .

After we had left the monastery of Rostel, and confided our sails to the winds, there came out of the Portuguese Ocean towards our ships, a certain unknown fish, black all over and terrible, of the

“Welcke reyse gheschyeden doer dat beuel des alder doerluchtichsten coninck van Portengale Emanuel geheeten Inden yrsten so vooren wi van Lissbone met groter armmeyen totten colester Rostel een mile van der stadt. Ender opden xxv. dach van meerte als wi te zeile ghingen so quam daer eenen visch wter zee in die hauene wel twee mans lengde groot seer swart ende gruwelijc dye vederen hadde op sinen rugghe die bina so langhe waren als een man Daer na quamen wi opten xxvi. dach van meerte op die zee van Portugale ende daer quamen vele visschen wt der zee neuen die scepen gheuaren. Dese voerscreuen swarte visch blies dat watere in die lucht hooge wel enes mans

“This voyage was undertaken by the command of Emanuel the most serene King of Portugal. We first journeyed from Lisbon with a great company unto the monastery of Rastello, one mile from the town.

And on the twenty-fifth day of March, when we set sail, there came out of the sea into the harbour a fish of the length of two men, exceeding black and terrible, having fins on its back nearly as long as a man. After this, on the twenty-sixth day . . . , we came into the sea of Portugal, and many fishes from the sea followed alongside the ships. The afore-



tudine xii. vel amplius pedum, qui habebat alas longitudinis sex pedum. Hic piscis collecto in se aere postquam se undis immersit, evomuit aquam in altum vi spiritus ad longitudinem virilis mensuræ. Vicesimo [*sic*] igitur die Martii venerunt juxta naves multi pisces & varii, qui naves sequebantur longius. Vicesimo septimo etiam die jaculo tormenti ceperunt nautæ belluam marinam magnitudine virilis staturæ. Hæc habebat corpus obesum & testiculos ut porcus, similiter intestina. Os vero habebat ut agnus, sed latius, & in mandibulis parvos dentes. Hujus carne cibavimus uno die 126 homines Vicesimo octavo die Martii per noctem navigavimus inter duas insulas, quæ ab invicem distant lx. mil-

length of twelve feet, or more, with wings [*fins*?] six feet long. That fish, after aspiring air within it, dipped into the waves, and blew water into the air as high as a man's length, by the force of its breath. On the twentieth day [*sic*] of March many and various fishes from the sea followed alongside the ships for a long distance. On the twenty-seventh day [of March] the crew took, by throwing a harpoon, a sea animal of the size of a man, with a very fat body, and organs like a boar, and entrails of similar kind. The head resembled that of a lamb, but broader, and with small teeth in the jaws. One hundred and twenty-six men eat of its flesh during one day. On the twenty-eighth day of March we sailed by night

lengde die wt die Portugaelesche zee quam in die hauene van Lissabone. Item op den xxvij. dach van meerte so scoten die scip-lieden in die zee eenen thonijn die also lanck was als een man Ende hadde also veel visch aen als een vercken of swijn ende hadde cullen gelijk een swijn ende speck ende vleesch ende ingewant oft darmen oec alsoe Ende eenen beck ghelijc eenen vogel mer een luttel breeder. ende cleyn tanden daer in Met desen visch spijsde men eenen dach hondert ende xxvi. personen Op den xxviij dach van Meerte des snachts voeren wi tusschen twee Eylanden die van malckanderen staen ses-tich mylen. Dye eene hier af heet Canaria Die andere Illamadera Ende hier zijn vele swartte

said black fish, which blew the water into the air as high as a man's length, came from the sea of Portugal into the harbour of Lisbon. Item, on the twenty-seventh day of March the crew shot a tunny in the sea; it was as long as a man, and had as much flesh upon it as a pig or boar, and had organs like a boar, and it had likewise blubber and flesh, and entrails or bowels of similar kind, and a beak like a bird, but a little broader and with small teeth therein. This fish provided food for one day for an hundred and twenty-six persons. On the twenty-eighth day of March we sailed by night between two islands lying sixty miles apart; one is called Canary and the other Madeira, and therein there be



liaribus, quarum una dicitur Canaria, distans ab Ulixbona clxxx. miliaribus, altera Illa Madera distans ab ea ccl. miliaribus."

between two islands lying sixty miles apart; one is called Canary and the other Madeira, distant from Lisbon, the one an hundred and eighty miles, the other two hundred and fifty miles."

menschen oft mooren innen Beyde dese Eylanden sijn van Lyssebone. die eene hondert ende tachtentich mile. die andere twee hondert ende vijftich milen."<sup>1</sup>

many black men or Moors. These two islands are distant from Lisbon the one an hundred and eighty miles, the other two hundred and fifty miles."<sup>2</sup>

The Latin and Flemish versions end both as follows :

"Octavo die Septembris postquam à prædictis insulis navigavimus lx. miliaribus, rejecit nos ad easdem ventus contrarius, ibique deficiente pane, dabantur cuilibet quotidie in victum tantum sex unciae panis. Consilio igitur ex necessitate habito, decimo tertio die iterum venimus ad insulam S. Jacobi, ubi comparavimus pro navi carnes, risi, & milium pro navi & aquam dulcem .xx. die iterum navigantes tendimus versus Portugalam, & tunc cœperunt plures ex nostris febricitare quartana. Primo enim Octobris die habuimus in navi nostra xx. viros ægrotos, quorum tres moriebantur. Navigavimus igitur usque in xxi. diem Octobris, & tunc appropinquare cœpimus ad insulam Illamaderam, ubi xxii. die jactis anchoris mansimus xii diebus providentes navi de vino & pane, prout necessarium erat. Tertio

"Op den viij. dach septembris, waren wi van teylanden gheuaren lx. milen ende doen quam daer eenen storm die ons wederon dreef tot op die eylanden ende doen en hadden wi nyet meer broets int scip. want men gaf ons des daechs nyet meet dan vi. vncen broots Ende wi namen raet om te lopen na sint Jacobs eylant, daer wi quamen opden xiij. dach septembris Daer cochten wi rijsch ende vleesch ende millye saet voor tscip ende namen ooc water in Op den xx. dach ghingen wi weder te seyle na Portengale ende doen werter veel van onsen volcke sieck, ende hoe langher hoe meer van die quarteyn ofte vierde cortsen, Opden yersten dach Octobris, waren in ons scip xx. mannen sieck daer dye iij. af storuen, Doen seylden wy totten xxi. dach Octobris, doen saghen wi Illamadere, Opden xxij. dach

<sup>1</sup> We have spelled out all the words of the Flemish text.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Barwick's translation from the Flemish, p. 18.



die Novembris rursus navigare  
coepimus usque in xii. diem &  
tunc vidimus montem S. Vincentii  
distantem ab Ulixbona xxxv. mil-  
liaribus, à quo discedentes in  
directum xv. die Novembris tan-  
dem Ulixbonæ portum in travi-  
mus."

"On the eighth day of Sep-  
tember we had gone sixty miles  
from the islands, when head  
winds drove us back again to  
the islands, and then, as we had  
no more bread, we received daily  
as food six ounces of bread each.  
And we took counsel together  
regarding the plight in which we  
were, and ran to the island of  
Santiago again, where we arrived  
on the thirteenth day of Septem-  
ber, and bought meat, rice, and  
millet for the ship, and did also  
take water. On the twentieth  
day, sailing again, we steered  
towards Portugal, and then sever-  
al of our people fell sick in our  
ship, of the quartan fever. In  
fact, on the first day of October,  
twenty men were sick in our ship,  
and three of them died. Then  
we continued to sail until the  
twenty-first day of October, when  
we commenced approaching the  
island of Madeira, where, having  
cast anchor on the twenty-second  
day, we lay twelve days, victual-  
ling the ship with the necessary  
wine and bread. On the third

worpen wi ons ankeren daer wt  
ende laghen daer totten iij. dach  
Nouembris / Daer na ghinghen  
wy weder te seyle na Portengale  
Ende spijsden daer ons scip met  
broot ende wijn, Opden xij. dach  
saghen wi weder landt den Caben  
oft berch van sinte Vincent / Ende  
waren doen van Lissebone xxxv.  
milen, Ende van daer seylden wi  
recht wt totten xv. dach Nouem-  
bris, ende setten doen ankeren  
voor die stadt van Lissebone  
Inden name gods. . . ."

"On the eighth day of Sep-  
tember we had gone sixty miles  
from the islands when a tempest  
arose which drove us back again  
to the islands, and then we had  
no more bread in the ship, for  
we received daily no more than  
six ounces of bread. And we  
took counsel together to run to  
the island of Santiago, where we  
arrived on the thirteenth day of  
September. There we bought  
rice and meat and millet for the  
ship, and did also take in water.  
On the twentieth day we set sail  
again for Portugal, and then many  
of our people fell sick, and more  
and more as time went on, of the  
quartan or four days fever. On  
the first day of October twenty  
men were sick in our ship, and  
three of them died. Then we  
continued to sail until the twenty-  
first day of October, when we saw  
Madeira. On the twenty-second  
day we cast anchor and lay there  
until the third day of November.  
After that we set sail again for  
Portugal, having victualled our  
ship there with bread and wine.



day of November we resumed the navigation until the twelfth day, when we descried at a distance of thirty-five miles Mount St. Vincent. Thence sailing in a straight line, we, at last, on the fifteenth day of November, entered the port of Lisbon."

On the twelfth day we descried land, the Cape or mountain of Saint Vincent, and we were then thirty-five miles from Lisbon. And from thence we sailed straight away until the fifteenth day of November, and cast anchor before the town of Lisbon. In the name of God. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

In many places the Flemish text is only a contracted version of the original, omitting dates. But a number of important passages have been taken out and out from the genuine narrative of Sprenger, and translated almost literally. Here is an instance :

SPRENGER.

"Ultima igitur die Maii navigamus cum duabus navibus versus montem *Cabe*, id est bonæ spei.<sup>2</sup> Nam capitaneus supremus, amissis duabus anchoris à nobis separatus, necesse habuit in oceanum excurrere, quo eum ventus ferebat, quem postquam invenimus, præcepit nobis ut secum omnes rediremus ad *Monsebit*. Tempestas enim venti cogebat nos retrorsum, quod in anteriora tendere nequivimus.

Secundo die Junii, consilio habito, nitebamur redire ad patriam, & non ad *Monsebit*; sed sæviente nimia acris commotione, præcepit nobis iterum supremus capitaneus, sub interminatione

DOESBORCH.

"Iten op den lesten dach Junij ghenghen wi weden te seyle naden Caben Ende ons ouerste hooftman liet daer ij. ankeren also dat hi in diezce mo ste lopen daerwy hen wed'vonden. ende de wit wert so groot dat wi weder achterwärts mosten lopen na Monsenbic, ende dat gheboot ons hooftmante doene.

Doen hielden wi raet dat wy varen wilden na Portengale ende niet na Monsenbic/Maer mits den groten storm mosten wi darwaerts lopen/Ende doen geboot ons opperste hooftman onsen hooftman den Piloet open lijf ende goet dat si van hen niet seylen souden anders dan tot Monsebic.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Barwick's translation from the Flemish, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> That is evidently a gloss of the Benedictine copyist, such as

we find several in their Latin text, as, for instance: "Gallice Cabe de bona speranza dicitur," and "Cabe de bonne speranza."



vitæ, & omnium bonorum nostrorum ne discederemus ab eo tendente ad *Monsebit*. Tunc nauclerus noster alta voce inclamabat: Misericordia, rogando ut se converteret ad reditum patriæ, alioquin navis nostra nobiscum periret: quia in ea non habuimus panem, nisi ad tres menses: si autem ad *Monsebit* nos redire cogeret, fames nos perderet. Eo igitur die discedentes à duabus navibus sociorum contra ventum navigantes tendimus versus *Cabe*."

"On the last day of May, we set sail with two caravels for Mount Cape, which is the Cape of Good Hope. Our chief captain having lost two anchors, he became separated from us, and was compelled to wander on the ocean, wherever the wind carried him. After we had found him again, he commanded all of us to go with him to Mozambique. But as there was a violent storm raging, which pushed us back, we could make no headway.

On the second day of June, after taking counsel, we endeavoured to return home, instead of going to Mozambique. But [although] the storm was greatly increasing, the chief captain repeated his command that at the peril of our lives and entire property we should not part with him going to Mozambique. But then our pilot cried with loud voice, Misericordia, and prayed him to let us return to our country, else we would be lost with the ship, for there was but bread enough for three months, and

Mer doen riep de factoer ende dar volck met ghemeynden sten men Misericordie ende baden hen om gods wille dat hi hen soude keeren na Portengale om scip ende volck te behouden. Want int scip niet meer braets en was dan voor iij. maenden Ende hadden wigueuarennā Monsenbic wy hadden al van honger ghes-toruen ende scyp ende goet verloren. Daer na keerden wions scip weden na Caben de speranza."

"On the last day of June (*sic*) we set sail again for the Cape; our chief captain lost two anchors there, so that he was compelled to run out to sea, where we found him again. But the wind became so violent that we were obliged to run back to Mozambique, and our captain commanded us to do so.

Hereupon we took counsel that we should sail to Portugal and not to Mozambique, but because of the great storm we were constrained to run thither, and then our chief captain gave command to our captain the pilot, that at the peril of his life and property they should not sail away from them anywhere else save to Mozambique . . . .

But then the steward and the crew cried with one voice Misericordia, and prayed him for God's sake to return to Portugal, so as to save the ship and the crew, for in the ship there was but bread enough for three months. And



that if we pursued our course to Mozambique, we would all die of hunger. On that very day, then, parting with the two caravels of our companions, and sailing against the wind, we steered towards the Cape."

if we had pursued our course to Mozambique we should all have died of hunger, and have lost our ship and goods. So we turned our ships again towards the Cape of Good Hope."<sup>1</sup>

What interested us particularly was to ascertain how far south Almeida's ships had gone after passing the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, and if the statement of Castanheda that they went 175 leagues beyond was exact. But when comparing Sprenger's original text with van Doesborch's version, we found that they are precisely alike, viz.:

"Navigantes igitur per vastum istud oceanum, reliquimus montem *Cabe* à latere ccc. milliariibus, ut compendosius in Indiam tenderemus. Verumtamen longe per multa centenaria milliariorum oceanicam viam legentes, nescivimus prorsus ubi essemus. Cumque adhuc nescientes ubi essemus, longius evageremur, tandem venimus ad locum ubi paulatim apparuerunt nobis cete grandia & immensa multa, sed & belluæ maris plures, & monstra oceani valde longa & terribilia. Excurrimus autem à monte *Cabe* xv. hebdomadibus, quod nullam omnino vidimus terram, sed tantum cœlum & aquam.

Quinta decima vero hebdomada, die scilicet xix. Julii apparuerunt navigantibus nobis adhuc multi pisces. Paulo post scilicet

"Daer voeren wy op dien tijt diepe inder zee om in Indein te varene Ende wi en quamen biden berch Caben niet op drie hondert milen Ende also voeren wi langhen tijt dat wy niet en wisten waer dat wi waren tot my menich hondert milen gepasseert waren Daer na voeren wi noch langhen tijt niet wetende waer dat wi waren dat wi ten lesten saghen vele thoninen ende walvisschen die seer groot ende wter maten lanck waren ende noch ander gruwelike visschen die seer land ende final waren Wi spelden vanden berch Caboweerde wel xv. weken dat wi noch lant noch sant en saghen Daer na inder vijftienster weken opten .xix. dach vande maent Julius saghen wi vele visschen Ende niet langhe daer na omteret twee vren saghen

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Barwick's translation from the Flemish, p. 38.



in spatio duarum horarum habuimus in aspectu nostro terram inter *Saphalle & Monsimbil*."

"Navigating then across that vast ocean, we went 300 miles away from Mount Cape, in order to journey quicker into India. We sailed nevertheless for a long time, several hundreds of miles on the ocean, without knowing at all where we were. And as we were thus wandering afar, we at last reached a place where we beheld large whales, some of immense size, also several marine animals, and monsters of the ocean, exceeding large and terrible. We sailed from Mount Cape for fifteen weeks, without seeing any land, only the sky and sea. In the fifteenth week, on the nineteenth day of July, to us, who were sailing, appeared fishes in abundance, and not long afterwards, that is, in about two hours, we descried the land between Sofala and Mozambique."

On the other hand, Doesborch skips over various important incidents and dates, among others, from April 14th until May 19th, including the terrific storm, which he dismisses with the sentence, "and we endured many storms and much distress," whilst the Latin devotes not less than twenty-two lines to that event. We also see that he omits the grave accident that happened to the ship on board of which was the author of the narrative, viz. :

wi dat lant tusschen Safaly ende Monsimbic."

"At this time we sailed far out to sea in order to journey into India, and we did not come within three hundred miles of the promontory, and we sailed for so long a time that we knew not where we were until at last we beheld many tunnies and whales which were exceeding large and long beyond measure, and other horrible fishes likewise very long and narrow. We sailed from Cape Verd for full fifteen weeks without seeing either land or shore, but afterwards, in the fifteenth week, on the nineteenth day of the month of July, we beheld fishes in abundance, and not long afterwards, in about two hours, we descried the land between Sofala and Mozambique."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Barwick's translation from the Flemish, p. 25.



“Decima octava die Augusti à portu nobis navigantibus evenit pereclitari navem in qua ego eram quæ *Leonart* dicebatur. Nam ex sociis navibus una fregit nobis gubernaculum, & sic ventus quo volebat gubernaculo carentes ferebat, donec tandem impulit iterum juxta prædictum fortalicium super fabulum. Amissis ergo sociis navibus, in magna desolatione fuimus. Auxiliante tamen Domino mane sequentis diei salicet xix Augusti arrepti a vento jacti fuimus juxta civitatem, sed hospitati & adjuti ab alii navibus quæ nobis succurrebant, fecimus quantocius novum gubernaculum:—August 18th, while sailing out of the harbour, it happened

that the caravel, on which I was, and called Leonard, stood in danger. For one of the caravels which accompanied us [ran foul of us] and broke our helm. Thus did the wind carry us wherever it pleased, owing to our being deprived of helm; until, finally, it took us again near the fort, on the beach. Having lost [sight of] the caravels that were with us, we felt great grief. But with the aid of God, on the following morning, that is, on the nineteenth day of August, the wind drove us near the city, where we were hospitably received, and with the help of the other caravels which came to our aid, we quickly constructed another helm.”

He likewise omits the following entry, which is a sequel of the preceding:

“Vicesima quarta die Augusti [1505] cœptum præcedentis diei iter prosequentes, sustinuimus periculum. Nam quædam navis iterum in nostram illata, unam ex nostræ anchoræ alis fregit. A quam cum difficultate divisi et eruti, tandem quarto die in magnum mare Mechæ civitatis pervenimus, Melindam à latere relinquentes:—On the twenty-fourth day of August, while pursuing the

route undertaken the day before, we experienced a great danger. For a certain caravel again ran foul of us, and broke one of the arms of our anchor. In consequence of that accident, we were separated [from the other ships] and sheered off. At last, on the fourth day, we reached the great sea of the city of Mecca, leaving Melinda on one side [?].”

It is worthy of notice that these omissions generally bear upon what might be called personal details. The reason is evidently to efface all data which might lead to a detection of the original narrative. For instance, in the first



omitted passage, there was the phrase: "in qua ego eram quæ Leonart dicebatur:—I was in the [ship] called Leonart," which could bring about the apprehended identification.

In the entry of November 2nd, 1505, the Latin text is as follows:

"Die secunda quatuor naves pipere cœpimus onerare, quæ dictæ sunt Raphael, Leonart, Judæ, Conceptionis Mariæ, quarum tres oneratæ migraverunt in reditu versus Cananor. Nos tamen cum *nostra nave S. Leonardi*<sup>1</sup> mansimus aliquot diebus in Gutschim:—On the second

day we commenced loading with pepper four ships, which were the *Raphael, Leonart, Judæ's ship*, and *the Conception of Mary*, three of which [when they had their cargo] steered away back to Cananor. We, however, with our own ship, the *St. Leonard*, remained a few days at Gutschim."

Doesborch (page 36) only says:

"On the second day of November we began to load four ships with pepper, and when three

were laden we sailed away to Cananor, the Leonard remaining behind."

The phrase: "Habuimus nos Teutones tres naves:—We, the *Germans*, had three ships," is altered by the Antwerp translator (page 31) into: "Die duytsche coopluyden hadden daer drie schepen":—"The Dutch merchants had three ships there," which is altogether untrue.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, Doesborch does not fail to set aside the passage in the original account which shows

<sup>1</sup> Those italics are ours.

<sup>2</sup> "Duytsche" means, above all, "Dutch," but sometimes also "German." An Antwerp writer, however, translating from the Latin, or German, in the sixteenth century, the word *Teutones*,

or its equivalent, into Flemish, would not have used the expression "duytsche," preferring "die van Almaengen," to avoid confusion. Besides, the suppression by Doesborch of the word "We," betrays the deceit.



that it is not a letter from "Albericus" to "my friend Lorenzo," but a report written and addressed by Balthazar Sprenger to certain distinguished personages, whom we believe to have belonged to the syndicate of Augsburg and Nuremberg merchants who equipped the three German ships of Almeida's expedition, viz. :

"Superius succincti (*sic*) & superficialiter viam peregrinationis nostræ proposuimus magis quam exposuimus, sed quoniam descendentes mare in navibus, & facientes operationem in aquis multis, vidimus opera Domini & mirabilia ejus in profundo, memores illius quod dicit Ecclesiastici 43. qui navigat, mare enarrat pericula ejus. . . . Ammonemur vobis dilecti domini singula plenius exponere, ut sciatis, quibus diebus, in quibus insulis, & regionibus, fuerimus, quæ mirabilia in singulis viderimus, quæ pericula incurrimus, quantumque in cunctis antea negatum oceanum vento impellente excurrimus."

"We have indicated summarily and superficially,<sup>1</sup> rather than described, the itinerary of our navigation. But, as we have sailed in our caravels, and carried our sails in numerous seas, we saw the works of the Lord, and his marvels in the deep, recollecting the words of the wise in Ecclesiastes xliii. (26): 'Let them that sail on the sea, tell the dangers thereof. . . .' We propose, Dear Lords, to relate all things more in detail, so that you may know at what dates, in what islands and regions we have gone, the strange things which we saw in each of them, the dangers we have experienced, and how long we tarried there owing to the calms."

As to the cosmographical paragraph at the end of the Flemish print, it is only an abridgment

<sup>1</sup> Sprenger alludes to the geographical description which he has just given. In the text published by the Benedictines, the above extract is followed by this sentence: "*Hic pleniorē facit narrationem de mirabilibus visis*:—Here, he [*i.e.*, Sprenger] makes a more detailed narrative of the

things worthy of admiration which he has seen." We do not know whether that statement, which here is given in the third person, whilst the preamble and the narrative itself are constantly in the first, or in its plural, belongs to the original, or is a gloss of the copyists of the Crassier MS.



of the termination of the original account of Vespuccius' third voyage. This was taken out of Jan van Doesborch's own Flemish version and edition of that (this time authentic) Vespuccian narrative, published at Antwerp not long before the *Reyse*, and with the same type and concluding woodcut.

That similitude between these two Antwerp publications forces upon us the conviction that van Doesborch was privy to the deception practised on the public, by attributing the narrative of Sprenger to Vespuccius. At that time the name of the Florentine navigator had eclipsed that of Columbus himself, and acquired such popularity, that not less than twenty-three editions, in Latin and German, of his third voyage, had been printed in three or four years at Paris, Strasburg, Augsburg, Leipzig, Nuremberg, and even at Antwerp (in Latin) by Henry Eckert.<sup>1</sup> The name of Vespuccius, although given in an abridged form, could not fail to attract the attention of the reading public, and ensure a ready sale. In fact, van Doesborch had likewise mentioned the Florentine and his correspondent only by their Christian names in his Flemish version of the third voyage, viz.: "Laurenti goede vrient In voorleeden daghen heb ic Albericus v gescreuen:—My good friend Lorenzo, I Albericus did write to you aforetime," exactly as in the *Reyse*, which, we must pre-

<sup>1</sup> For and with the mark of *Americana Vetustissima*, No. 29, William Vorsterman. *Bibliotheca* pp. 72, 73.



sume, was considered sufficient at Antwerp in those days.<sup>1</sup>

The Latin manuscript, copied by the Benedictines, is now lost. It seems to have been dateless. On the other hand, Sprenger's German edition (which we will describe further on) bears the date of 1509, while van Doesborch's Flemish version is dated "In December of the year 1508." Superficial observers may be tempted therefore to ask whether it was not Sprenger who plagiarized "Albericus," instead of the reverse.

In reply, we must recall the fact that Vespuccius is *not* the party who accompanied Almeida in the voyage described in the Flemish pamphlet; and that his name in the latter print is a sheer interpolation. "Fallacia alia aliam trudit:—One deception makes way for another," says Terentius. In the present instance, the subsidiary consequence was to alter the date of "1505" into "1500," and rob thereby the real author of his dues. This, naturally, imparts at the outset a suspicious look to the whole performance. We then notice that the Latin is much more complete than the Flemish. Besides, as we have already said, a number of omissions refer to

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Americ. Vetust., Additamenta*, No. 15. For a facsimile of the woodcut at the end, and of the above quoted words, see Fred. Müller's *Catalogue of Books on America*, No. 24. As to that unique and valuable Americanum, it was discovered in the Friday Market at Antwerp by the

bookseller Pierre Kockx, in a bundle of old printed matter, lying on the ground, in the mud, and purchased by him for one franc, with the rest. It was bought at public sale for 700 francs by Mr. Müller, who resold it to Mr. Carter Brown, in whose library it is still preserved.



particular data, which were calculated to disclose the true name of the writer, then yet living, and evidently known personally in Antwerp. Just as it was within the knowledge of citizens of the place that Hans Mayr had made the voyage in the *Saint Rafael*,<sup>1</sup> certain persons must have also been aware in that port (where the German squadron was equipped, less than three years before) that Sprenger had joined the expedition of Almeida in the *Saint Leonard*. At all events, the dates and specific details duly set forth in the Latin text, and replaced by blanks in the Flemish, alone would suffice to prove that the latter is not the original.

The name of BALTHAZAR SPRENGER must stand as the sole writer, in its authentic form, of that interesting narrative.

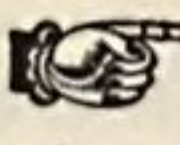
O.

1509.

*Dje Merfart vñ erfahrung nüwer||Schiffung vnd  
Wege zû viln onerkanten Inseln vnd Kü||  
nigreichen, von dem groszmechtigen Portu-  
galischẽ Kunig Emanuel||Erforscht, funden,  
bestritten vnnd Ingenomen, Auch wunderbar-||  
liche Streyt, ordenung, leben wesen handlung  
vnd wunderwercke,||des volcks vnd Thyrer dar*

<sup>1</sup> The *Saint Rafael* hailed from Porto, but formed part of the squadron fitted out in Antwerp for and at the cost of the association of Augsburg and Nuremberg merchants.



*in wonende, findestu in diessein buchlyn||war-  
haftiglich beschryben vñ abkunterfeyt, wie ich  
Balthasar Sprē||ger sollichs selbs: in kurtz-  
uerschynē zeiten: geschen vñ erfahren habe  
&c.||*(Woodcut) *Gedruckt||Anno. M.D.IX.||*  
(At the end of the book)  *Die Merfart  
Balthaser (sic) Sprengers in einer Sum geoffen-  
bart||hat hie ir end erlangt Im iar noch Chris-  
tus geburt. 1. 5. 0. 9.||*

“The Sea Voyage, new navigation and ascertained route towards many unknown Islands and Kingdoms of the Mighty Portuguese King Emanuel, explored, found, warred against and conquered. Also, the astonishing fights, organization, life, customs and wonderful works of the people of Thyre thou wilt find in this little book, truly described and reproduced, such as I, myself, Balthasar Sprenger, have seen and ascertained, etc. Printed in the year 1509.” (At the end of the book) “The sea voyage of Balthaser Sprenger, related uninterruptedly, reached here its termination. In the year of the birth of Christ 1509.”

\*.\* Small 4to, *sine loco* (sed Augsburg?), printed in small German B.L., without printer's name or mark. For water-mark, a pitcher. Fourteen unnumbered leaves, including the title-page; and, at the end, a double leaf folded, for a large woodcut only.

Leaf 1st, recto, the title above given, beginning with a line in larger type, and long ornamented D. In the middle of the page, the arms of Maximilian, supported by a large single-headed sable eagle; verso, a coat-of-arms filling the entire page, and bearing, on top, B. S. (Balthazar Sprenger).<sup>1</sup> Leaf 2nd, text on both sides. Leaf 3rd, recto, a savage in warlike attitude, and the word *Geñēa*; verso, a woman with two children, and the word *Gennea*. Leaf 4th, recto, text; verso, a fruit-bearing tree. Leaf 5th, recto, text; verso, a man and child. Leaf 6th, recto, woman with child at the breast; verso, text. Leaf 7th, recto, the tree repeated; verso, text. Leaf 8th, recto, man clad from head to foot; verso, woman and child. Leaf 9th, text on both sides.

<sup>1</sup> See in front of our title-page a facsimile of those arms, which, in the book, are coloured by hand, viz. coupé of or and gules. But we have coloured our reproduction from the colours in the coat-of-arms added at the time

to Burgkmair's large 1508 plate, now in the possession of the descendant of Sprenger's employer, Baron Carl von Welser, viz., coupé of gules and azure, which we consider more authentic than the colours in the book.



Leaf 10th, recto, text ; verso, man wearing a turban, half naked, and the words, *India . Maior*. Leaf 11th, recto, a half-naked woman with hair dishevelled ; verso, text. Leaf 12th, recto, text ; verso, man with sword and buckler, and the words, *India . Maior*. Leaf 13th, recto, man with bow and arrow ; verso, text. Leaf 14th, text on both sides. The double leaf is a woodcut, 26 × 20 c., of the King of Cochin, borne on a palanquin, surrounded by soldiers, musicians, and attendants, copied, greatly reduced and somewhat modified, from Hans Burgkmair's large plate of 1508 (Derschau, B. 25). Here, there are two inscriptions, viz. : *Der Triumph des Kunigs von Gutschin mit seinen spieleuten vnd . . . .* (the rest has been cut off by the binder), and *TRIVMPHVS REGIS GOSCT SIVE GVTSCMIN .I. H. S.*, with the date 1509.

All those plates are very rough, and, with the exception of the last, not to be found anywhere else. They are certainly not the work of Hans Burgkmair, and have all been coloured by hand.

The only known copy of that interesting and valuable book is preserved in the Royal and State Bavarian Library at Munich (*It sing.* 4to, 330/11).

To place his account within the reach of the reading public in Germany, goaded on perhaps by the Antwerp piratical version, Sprenger prepared, himself, for the press, apparently at Augsburg, an edition of his own original narrative, and in the German language. It is the present.

We notice, in this, important changes, not in the text, so far as it goes, but in the arrangement. Thus, a portion of the geographical part is inserted within the text of the narrative whilst the rest is placed at the end of the book, instead of at the beginning, as we see it both in the Crassier manuscript and in the Flemish version of the original account. Sprenger has consequently omitted the introductory remarks with which the geographical description was prefixed, but without connecting it with the narrative proper by means of a title or explanation.

The order of events and descriptions in this German text tally exactly with the Latin,



although a few passages have been curtailed somewhat, while several dates and names are different. The preamble differs also in some respects from the one in the Crassier manuscript. It is as follows :

“In dem namen der heiligen onteilbarlichen Triualtigkeyt Got Vaters Sons vnnd Heiligen Geist Amen, Durch den alle ding Hymel Erde vnd die tyeffe abgrunde geschaffen vnd ordinirt sein, vnd on welchen keyn guter anfang, mittel noch selig ende ereycht werden mage, Wil ich Balthazar Sprenger von Fylsz mit genade vñ hylffe der selben die wunderbarlichen new erfunden lande, Kunig, reich Inseln vnd gegene mit sampt yren inwonnenden menschen, Thyren vnd wachssenden Fruchtē, wie ich die in waszer vnnd vff lande: mit andern geschickten des Groszmechtigen Kunigs zů Portugal: Emanuel genant: vnd der Furtreffen Kaufherrē der Fucker, Welszer, Hochstetter, Hyrszfogel, deren im Hofe vnd anderer yrer geselschafften, erstritten vnd mit macht helffen betzwingē: erfahren vnd gesehen habe, im anfāg des Jars Christi vnsers herren geburt Funftzehenhundert vñ Funff.”

“In the name of the holy indivisible Trinity: God the father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen; who have created and regulated all things: Heaven, the Earth, and the Deep Abysses, and without whom no good beginning, middle, and blessed end can be reached, I, Balthazar Sprenger, from Vilss, with their grace and aid, will [set forth] the wonderful, newly discovered Countries, Kingdoms, Islands and regions, with all the men, animals, and growing fruits therein, such as I have found them together with other emissaries of the high and mighty King of Portugal, called Emanuel, and of the excellent merchants Fucker, Welser, Hochstetter, Hyrszfogel, Court people [?] and others of their company, and with whom, by fighting and by force [I] helped to conquer, visited and saw, in the beginning of the year of the birth of Christ our Lord, Fifteen Hundred and Five.”

To complete our demonstration, there remains to give Sprenger's own German text of the beginning and end of his narrative.<sup>1</sup> By com-

<sup>1</sup> The reader will find a notice of Sprenger's voyage, as described in the German version, in Dr. Friedrich Kunstmann's very able



paring these two passages with the Latin translation and sophisticated Flemish version already set forth in the preceding pages,<sup>1</sup> the reader will see the original source of that interesting and reliable account of one of the greatest events in the colonial history of Portugal.

BEGINNING OF NARRATIVE.

(2nd leaf, recto.)

“Vnd noch vnser zûschickûg im ingâg des Schifs vnd anfarens, Kam ein wunderbarlicher grausamlicher Fisch bey Rostal vsz dem hohen Mere in Hafen (das ist in die pfordt oder staden des Meres: do man ynschifft, anfert; vnd vszledt) der was in der grôsz eins iungen knaben vmb xvij. iare alt, bech schwartz vnd hat allein vff seinez ruck fisch federn Er bliesz erschrôckenlich das mer über mans hoche in die lufft Vnd in schnellem hysegeln erreichte wir die Cost zû Portugal vff den xxvi. tag des Mertzen, vff welchen tag vmb vnser schiff in vnd bey den hafen der angezeigten fisch

onzalber vil erschynen vnd zûschwûmmen. Vnd vff den andern tag der do wz des xxvij. des Mertzen Schossen die Schiffleut ein onbekanten seltzamen Fisch in der Cost im Spangē Sehe, den sie ein Dûtschin nanten der was folligklich eins mans langk gleicher gestalt einem Schwein das ongeuerlich fyer guldin bei vns werdt, vnd het der fisch: als eyn Eber am hyndern teil feins leibs: ein grosz geschrdd, vnd vorn an seynem mund ein Schnabel gleich eim Fogel doch einer breitem form, vnd in seinez maul vil kleiner scharpffer zene, Mit diessem fisch wurden gespeiszt in einem tag Hundert vnd sechs-

paper, *Die Fahrt der ersten Deutschen nach dem portugiesischen Indien*, Munich, 1861, 8vo (which came to our notice only when the present work had been written).

We beg to express here our best thanks to Dr. von Laubmann, the learned and obliging director of the Bavarian Royal Library at Munich, who not only at our request supplied us with long extracts, and a minute description of Sprenger's *Merfart*, but had

the liberality to send us, in Paris, the priceless book itself for our inspection and study.

We are also under great obligations to our friend, Max Hellman, Esq., who, while at Munich, kindly made a summary of the German pamphlet, which proved of great service to solve this little bibliographical and historical problem.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, in chapter N, pp. 48-52.



undtzwentzig mensche, do von ich selber gessen vnd gespeiszt worden bin.

(2nd leaf, verso.)

Vff Freitag noch Vnser lieben frawen verkundung tag, der do was vff den Achtundtzwentzigsten tage des Monats Mertzen, Do führen wir zû nacht mit vnsern

schiffē zwischen zweiē Inseln hyn : vñ leit dye ein von der andern Sechtzig meilen, vnd fecht sich do an der Moren landt : vnd heist die ein Canaria vnd leit hundert vñ achtzig meylen von Lisibon, die ander Ilamander : die selb leit hundert vnd funftzig meiln vō Lisibon, . . .”

END OF NARRATIVE.

(13th leaf, verso.)

“Vf den viij. tag septembris waren wir von den inseln 60. meilen, da quam ein sturm windt vnnd treib vns wider hyndersich vf die inseln, vnd hetten wir nit mer brot im schiff man gabe vnser einem tags nit mer dan vi. vntz brot zu essen. wir wurden ym schyff zû rat das wir widerumb noher der inseln sant Jacobs lauffen wolten, vnd kamen vff den viij. tag Septembris do hyn vñ kauften Reisz vñ fleisch vnd mille in die schyff vnd namen wasser. Am xx. tag septembris gingen wir wyder zû sayl noch Portugal, vñ bald dornoch ward

(14th leaf, recto.)

etlich tag vil volcks kranck vñ fur vnd fur ye lenger ye mere, Am Fie sier kentura vf den erstē tag Octobris waren xx. mañ ym schiff

kräck vnd sturben die zeit hyn 123. person. Da sayltē wir bisz vf den xxi. tag Octobris da sahen wir Ylle maday, Vf den xxij. tag Octobris satztē wir āncker vsz vnd lagen da bisz vf den dritten tag Nouembris Da gin gen wir wyder zû sayle noch Portugal, vnnd speiszten vor hyn vnser schiff mit wein vnd brot zymlicher weysz. Vf den xij. tag Nouenbris da sahen wir widerumb land, das was der kabe zû sant Vincentz, vnd waren wir der zeit von Lysibon 35. meiln Da saylten wir lang s lanhyn bysz vf den xv. tag Nouenbris vnd satztē āncker vor die stat Lysibon, vnd hatten do mit diesse Reysz in dem namen gottes volnbracht vnd geendet, Dem sey Ere vnd glory ymmer vnd ewigklichē Amen.”

*That is the rare book which deserved the honour of a facsimile reprint and a scholarly translation into English, instead of the incomplete, garbled, and piratical Flemish pamphlet. Unfortunately, Balthazar Sprenger failed to mention Americus Vespuccius and his friend*



Lorenzo, in any form or shape whatever! It is a pity. Had only the honest Tyrolese possessed the lynx eyes of the astute savant who can see his hero both in the sun and in the moon exactly at the same time, he might have also found, several centuries afterwards, a fanciful editor to hold him forth as an incomparable genius.

THE END.







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